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DOCTOR BERKELEY's SERMON ON VIOLENT INNOVATIONS IN THE STATE.

DOCTOR DUPLEY'S

SERMON

ON

VIOLENT INNOVATIONS

IN THE STATE.

THE DANGER OF

Violent Innovations in the State,

How ſpecious ſoever the Pretence,

EXEMPLIFIED FROM

The Reigns of the Two Firſt Stuarts,

IN A

SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of Chriſt, Canterbury,

On MONDAY, Jan. 31, 1785,

Being the Day appointed to be obſerved as the Anniverſary of the MARTYRDOM of KING CHARLES I.

By GEORGE BERKELEY, D.L.

(Late Student of Chriſt Church, Oxford)

VICE-DEAN OF CANTERBURY,

AND CHANCELLOR OF BRECKNOCK.

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The Fifth Edition, with Notes,

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL.

O Fortunatos nimium ſua ſi bona norint.—

Virg.

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MDCCLXXXV.

PROV. XXIV. 21.

MY SON, FEAR THOU THE LORD AND THE KING, AND MEDDLE NOT WITH THEM THAT ARE GIVEN TO CHANGE.

WE are this day aſſembled, to expreſs our abhorrence of an action which involved our forefathers in *guilt* and *infamy*; and to deprecate that vengeance, which, for ſuch an unheard-of crime, may juſtly be inflicted on us their children.

As we look not for any reſur-

rection of the *body politic*, and as in the future world there will be no diſtinction of nations, but each individual will be rewarded according to his works—the guilt of nations (if puniſhed at all) *muſt* be puniſhed in the *preſent* ſtate.

That nations, as ſuch, are capable of guilt, and that they are by conſequence, liable to puniſhment, is the doctrin of Scripture, and muſt be admitted by every man who believes in GOD's moral government of the world.

That the puniſhment of nations may

may be delayed, 'till their iniquities be *full*, is likewiſe ſufficiently obvious.

That the guilt, which we now deplore, was *in ſome ſenſe* national needs no proof: the nation confeſſes it; and every one knows that it was by a *pretended* national authority, that the virtuous Sovereign was brought to the block.

To prevent the iniquities of our fathers from being viſited on us, in a national manner; the *only* manner, I apprehend, that the ſins of the fathers are ever

viſited on their children; it will be our wiſdom to avoid their ways, thoſe ways which they purſued in attempting, by violent methods, to *reform the Conſtitution.*

It ſhould ſeem then that I cannot better fulfil the purpoſe for which I ſtand here, than by endeavoring to perſuade you "to fear the Lord and the King, "and not to meddle with them "that are given to change."

To this end, it is propoſed to ſhew you that Civil Government is the ORDINANCE OF GOD: and then

then I ſhall point out the danger and the ſin of making *violent innovations* in any conſtitution of government whatever, that has been long eſtabliſhed, and to which the people have been accuſtomed quietly to ſubmit.

First, the nature of man—the conſtitution of his mind as well as of his body—ſhews clearly that his Creator intended him for *Society*. No other animal is ſent into the world in ſo *helpleſs a condition* as this *Lord of the Creation*; naked, yet unfitted to bear the inclemencies of the wea-

ther ; neceſſarily requiring food, yet utterly unable to procure it for himſelf.

Thus circumſtanced, if deſtitute of parental protection, *few* and *evil* would be the *moments* of his life. Thus totally dependent muſt *every* deſcendent of Adam be contented to remain during the period of infancy and childhood—in the more rigid climates, during a much longer one.

When he arrives at that ſtage of life at which he may be ſuppoſed capable, in ſome meaſure, to take care of himſelf ; ſhould he

he ſeparate from his parents, and roam alone among the wilds, he might, perhaps, in the more favorable regions of the globe, be able to ſupport, for a few years, a wretched exiſtence;—But to render life, in any degree, pleaſant and deſirable, many more things are *abſolutely neceſſary* than can poſſibly be provided by the labor and ingenuity of an *individual.*

Should this *ſolitary* man take, from the other ſex, ſuch a help, as inclination might prompt him to ſeek, or as accident might

bring within his reach, by that aſſociation his *hands* would indeed be doubled, but ſo would his *wants* too: in the *rearing* (for we ſpeak not of the *education*) of children, he would ſoon encounter difficulties ſo numerous and ſo formidable, that the utmoſt ſtretch of imagination cannot conceive him *able*, if *diſpoſed*, to overcome them.

But, ſuppoſe all theſe wants ſupplied, all theſe obſtacles ſurmounted, and a *family grown up*. Suppoſe that little community *doing* all that a ſingle family is

capable

capable of doing, towards ſupporting themſelves, by gardening and agriculture, by hunting and by a few cattle, caſually got and tamed; *Theſe* occupations would engroſs their *whole* time; leaving neither leiſure nor inclination for aught beſide. Man's *higher faculties* would remain unemployed and uncultivated; for thoſe arts and ſciences which are indiſpenſably neceſſary to teach men how to uſe their nobler faculties, and to unfold their reaſon, are not the growth of ſingle families.

Hence, in ſuch a ſtate, man muſt remain a ſtranger to religion and morality. He could have no knowledge of the greateſt and moſt beneficent of beings, by whom he was created, and would little ſurpaſs, in excellence or dignity, his brethren the beaſts of the foreſt.

That this is not a viſionary theory is evident from the hiſtory of the *new* world. When that immenſe continent was firſt diſcovered, ſuch of its inhabitants as lived in disjointed independent families, or in very ſmall tribes, were

were exactly in this degenerate ſtate, ſtrangers to all the arts, and to all the comforts of life, and "without GOD in the world," they carried about with them ſcarcely any marks of humanity but their *form.* In the *kingdoms,* where ſociety was formed, and a regular ſubordination eſtabliſhed, the caſe was far otherwiſe. The people were in a degree civilized, they had ſome acquaintance with many of the *arts,* the *elegances,* and even the *luxuries* of life. And although by the *nature* of their governments, and their *mon-*

ſtrous

ſtrous idolatries, they were prevented from attaining to that degree of knowledge and politeneſs which has been attained by nations upon whom "the ſun of "righteouſneſs hath ariſen," yet when compared with the *wandering tribes* around them, they were happy, intelligent, and polite.

Now as that ſuperiority in improvement could be owing to nothing but the mutual aid *afforded by ſociety*; and as the human race, when out of ſociety, degenerates almoſt to the level of the brute creation, SOCIETY muſt un-

undoubtedly be the ſtate intended for man by his Maker.

But ſociety neceſſarily implies laws and ſubordination. A number of men living together in a ſtate of abſolute equality, and indulging each his own humour, would form a confuſed rabble: inſtead of affording one another mutual aſſiſtance, "every man would "do what is right in his own "eyes;" every man would graſp at as much as he could; and, in the general ſcramble, the ſtrong would deſtroy the weak.

In

In *modern philoſophy*, the ſocial affections hold a very conſpicuous place; and from the certain exiſtence, and ſuppoſed influence, of theſe affections, have torrents of ſenſeleſs declamation been poured forth in praiſe of the *ſtate of nature*; of that *imaginary ſtate* in which, during the early ages of the world, men are *ſuppoſed* to have lived together, while every man was *his own legiſlator*.

That there *never was* ſuch a ſtate as this, all the records of antiquity, to which any credit is due (with the books of Moſes at the

the head of them) agree in aſſuring us. That there *never could have been* ſuch a ſtate, is almoſt ſelf-evident.

For, though it cannot be denied that there is implanted in the human heart A PUBLIC AFFECTION, which makes even *children* delight in ſociety; yet in minds uncultivated, that public affection hath but little ſtrength, and is by no means ſufficiently enlarged to comprehend the *whole ſpecies*, or even *many individuals*.

How far, for inſtance, does the public affection of a low il-

literate

literate clown extend? *Probably*, not beyond the limits of the village or parish wherein he resides: And when public affection opposes itself to the principle of self-love, in every *uncultivated* mind, in the high or low, it is always foiled in the contest.

Indeed, were mankind compounded of nothing but *pure intellect and public affection* — or (such beings as they are) did the interests of *one* never interfere with those of *another*; they might, perhaps, even in SOCIETY, be left to the influence of their own rea-

reaſon, to the guidance of their own internal feelings.

But whilſt man is a compound of *reaſon* and *appetites*, of *public* and *private* affections; and much more, whilſt the intereſts of *one* man are ſo frequently *oppoſed* by thoſe of *another*, it is paſt diſpute that poſitive laws are abſolutely neceſſary to render ſociety either *comfortable* or *uſeful*; and indeed to keep it together.

But laws, in the very idea of them, infer *magiſtrates* of *different orders*, and of various powers; and, as it is impoſſible to mul-

multiply powers to *infinity*, there muſt, in every ſtate, be ſome *man*, or *body of men*, veſted with ſupreme and uncontroulable authority. This can only be the *legiſlature*, to which all *inferior* and *executive* powers muſt, of neceſſity, be ſubject; and to the decrees of which every individual of the ſtate is bound to pay obedience, as he values the *bleſſings of ſociety*, and as he would ſhun the *horrors of anarchy*.

Whatever therefore, in the wild ſallies of imagination, men of warm genius may have advan-

vanced in favor of *abſolute liberty*, and *boundleſs freedom*, it muſt be plain to every one (who can conceive the difference between the cabin of a ſavage and a commodious houſe, between a rude barbarian and an enlightended religious philoſopher, between a people living wild in caves and woods, and a nation in full poſſeſſion of eaſe and affluence) that *government* is the true and ſolid baſis of *rational freedom*, and the ſole foundation of all that can be ſtyled dignity and happineſs in this world.

But,

But, whatever is eſſential to the happineſs of man muſt be agreeable to the will of God, who cannot be imagined to have had any other view in creation than the felicity of his creatures.

The abſolute neceſſity of ſome ſupreme authority to enact laws, and to puniſh the violators of them, is as convincing a proof that *civil government* is a *divine ordinance*, as St. Paul's declaration to that purpoſe, in his epiſtle to the Romans.*

* Biſhop Sherlock, whoſe ſagacity and correctneſs as a Politician equalled his eloquence as a Preacher, in his Sermon on

Particular *forms* of government

on Civil Government, obſerves upon St. Paul " that under the duties of Subjec-
" tion he comprehends not only thoſe
" owing to Kings and Princes, but
" thoſe owing to every ſuperior, nay,
" thoſe owing even to our equals :
" *Render*, ſays he, *to all their dues* ; *tri-*
" *bute to whom tribute*, &c. The Apoſ-
" tle's concern was with ſuch as denied
" even the *right of Government*, and
" were for being *every man his own*
" *King* : He was chiefly concerned for
" the honour of the Goſpel, and ex-
" horted to Obedience, that the name of
" GOD and of CHRIST might not be
" blaſphemed. Had St. Paul taught
" the Chriſtians at Rome that the Em-
" peror was ordained by GOD *for their*
" *good*, and that they were bound to
" obey him *as long as he was good to*
" *them* and *no longer*, would this, do

" you

(the force of which depending

" you think, have cleared them of the " ſcandal they lay under of being ene- " mies to Government! Would they " have had *praiſe* of the *power* for their " doctrine? No; it would rather have " juſtified all the reproaches caſt upon " them, and confirmed the powers of " the world, in the opinion, that, if ever " Chriſtianity prevailed, *their* authority " muſt ſink.

" I cannot" proceeds this acute writer, " conclude my diſcourſe without taking " notice of St. Peter's doctrine upon this " ſubject. His Epiſtle is directed to the " ſtrangers ſcattered throughout divers " countries; for in the ninth year of " the Emperor Claudius, the *Jews* " (under which name the *Chriſtians* " were comprehended as is plain from " the 18th of the Acts) were baniſhed " Rome for tumults and ſeditions, occa- " ſioned by their diſputes." " This

little on the tempers of men we

" This baniſhment is mentioned by " Suetonius, and the writer of the Acts, " in the place laſt quoted. St. Peter was, " therefore, in his Epiſtle neceſſarily to " mention and preſs obedience, the want " of which had occaſioned their preſent " diſtreſs: Thus then he exhorts his " ſcattered flock. " Dearly beloved, I " beſeech you, as ſtrangers and pilgrims, " abſtain from earthly luſts, which war " againſt the Soul, having your conver- " ſation honeſt among the Gentiles; that " whereas they ſpeak againſt you as *evil* " *doers*" that is " as *diſobedient ſubjects* " which is alſo, as I ſhewed, St. Paul's " notion of *evil doers*, they may by your " good works which they behold, glorify " God in the day of viſitation": then " follows the general precept; *Submit* " *yourſelf to every ordinance of man for* " *the Lord's ſake*, whether it be to the

may deduce from them conſe-

" King, or to Governors, and the like.
" Here then St. Peter is ſuppoſed to have
" determined the great point, and taught
" us that Kings are the ordinance of
" Man, made by the people: if he has,
" I am ſure he has contradicted St. Paul,
" who has expreſsly told us, that *the*
" *powers which be, are ordained of* GOD:
" which clear doctrine of St. Paul ſhould,
" I think, make us cautious how we ex-
" pound St. Peter to a different meaning.
" St. Peter's original words are, Πασῃ
" ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει how they came to be
" rendered " *To every ordinance of man*"
" I profeſs myſelf not to underſtand.
" κτίσις ſometimes in Scripture ſignifies a
" *creature*, and the adjective joined to it
" ſignifies *human*; accordingly St. Pe-
" ter's doctrine is plain " ſubmit your-
" ſelves to every *human creature*, or to
" every man for the Lord's ſake." How

" κτίσις

quences *only not* as certain and ge-

" κτισις ανθρωπινη ſhould ſignify a *creature*,
" or any thing elſe, *made by man*, I know
" not! Ανθρωπινη σοφια is not wiſdom *made*
" *by man*, but which man enjoys the gift
" of GOD: So κτισις ανθρωπινη is not a
" creature *made by man*, but an *human*
" *creature*. And that this is St. Peter's
" true meaning will appear from the
" whole tenor of his diſcourſe.—Both
" the Apoſtles take in ALL DEGREES
" OF DUTY INTO THE DOC-
" TRINE OF SUBMISSION — and
" both of them agree in ſubſtance. St.
" Paul ſays that the powers are ordained
" of GOD, and St. Peter has ſaid as
" much by telling us that it is the *will*
" *of* GOD, that with well doing, acquit-
" ting ourſelves as quiet and good Sub-
" jects of the State, we ſhould put to ſi-
" lence the ignorance of fooliſh men."
It ſurely is highly important that all

neral as from mathematical ſciences) may be deviſed on *earth*; and they may be different in different nations, but ſtill, let us attend to a moſt important diſtinction in this matter, although *forms* of government may be of *man's* device, *ſo* is not *government itſelf*; that is from *above*, for "the Moſt High ruleth in the "kingdoms of men, and giveth "them to whomſoever he will."*

claſſes of citizens ſhould have the principles whence the obligations to obedience are *ſolely* to be derived, correctly ſtated and rightly explained to them.

* To a *ſuperficial* thinker this *firſt* head of the diſcourſe may perhaps appear ſuper-

SECONDLY, to trace government from its rude origin, thro' all the ſtages of perfection and

perfluous; for where is the man that doubts of the neceſſity of *ſome form* of Government? *No man*, indeed, doubts of the neceſſity of Government, *becauſe* from his infancy he has been *told* that it is neceſſary, but *few*, very few, have conſidered what wretched creatures they muſt be were it not for Government, and perhaps a *view of that wretchedneſs* may have a good effect upon the minds of ſuch perſons as have never duely examined theſe obvious verities, and may tend to give them a juſt abhorrence of anarchy and confuſion. The demagogues of the laſt century involved our forefathers in miſery merely becauſe theſe truths were not ſufficiently regarded.

refinement of which it is capable, is foreign from my purpoſe, and far beyond the limits of the preſent diſcourſe; neither ſhall I waſte your time in comparing the *various forms* of government exiſting in divers countries, and in a fruitleſs endeavor to decide peremptorily which of them is *beſt*: It is my buſineſs to proceed, under the direction of the text, to ſhew the danger and the ſin of making *violent innovations* in any form that hath been long and quietly eſtabliſhed. "My ſon, "fear thou the Lord and the "King,

" King, and meddle not with " them that are given to change."

Although the wiſe man *particularly* ſpecifies the *King* as the power which, after GOD, it is our duty to fear; yet it is not to be imagined that his prohibition againſt " meddling with them " that are given to change" is applicable *only* to perſons living under kingly governments.

The *danger* to be apprehended from *innovations* is as great, perhaps greater, in popular than in monarchical forms. No great and *violent* change can be effected

in any conſtitution, but by armed force; now ſhould an abſolute prince be ſlain, and the government be diſſolved, that form, being ſimple and uniform, may be *inſtantly reſtored* by placing another monarch on the vacant throne. But in a complicated conſtitution, conſiſting of various parts, the leaſt *innovation* (provided it be *perceptible* by the people at large) will not fail to ſplit them into a thouſand fierce and rancorous parties. If, while things are in this ſtate, the government be diſſolved (which

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in ſuch caſes is always to be dreaded) *when* or *how* it may be reſtored, can be known *only* to HIM "who ſtilleth the raging "of the ſea, and the madneſs "of the people."

Nothing human is abſolutely fixed: nations, as well as individuals, are progreſſive; and what was fit for the laſt age, may not be proper for the next. Gentle alterations in the modes of government are, perhaps, unavoidable; but great and violent *innovations* no individual is entitled to make. Indeed ſuch al-

terations are very *dangerous* to be attempted even by the *legiſlature itſelf*, and if experience may be credited, much more *ill* than *good* is ever to be expected from them.

The patrons of the propoſed innovation may have the *beſt intentions*, and yet, unleſs the *whole community* ſhould agree in ſentiment as to its *fitneſs* or *neceſſity*, the conſequence of introducing it may too probably be *fatal*. For the " beginning of ſtrife— " eſpecially of political ſtrife— " is as when one letteth out wa- " ter;" at firſt it runs in a gentle

gentle rill, but, by degrees, the rill ſwells into a mighty torrent, that ſweeps away every thing before it.—

The uſual pretence of thoſe "who are given to change" is to *redreſs grievances*, and to *reform the conſtitution*. One may, however, very ſafely appeal to the experience of all ages and nations, nay, to the common ſenſe of all mankind, whether under the *worſt* conſtitution with which we are acquainted, the people *in general* can ſuffer any grievance equal to the miſeries

of a civil war; and every *violent* innovation in the ſtate hath been and always will be attended by a civil war.

Nor are the horrors alluded to confined to the time of the conteſt; by no means, for it hath been commonly found that, after civil broils, a return of peace hath not brought back with it *freedom* and *happineſs*. Not to inſiſt upon the executions, proſcriptions, and confiſcations which muſt inevitably take place, *which ever* party prevails—it is hardly to be expected that, if the Sovereign

vereign prove victorious, the *grievances* complained of ſhould be redreſſed; an unſucceſsful rebellion having been ever found to ſtrengthen the government it intended to deſtroy; but, ſhould ſucceſs declare for the popular party, the leader of that party, at the head of a victorious army, may eaſily ſeize the ſupreme power, and amply ſupply by *force* what he wants of *right*.

Thus, inſtead of finding their Conſtitution *reformed*, the people will feel themſelves enſlaved by a *military tyrant*; and perceive,

ceive, when too late, that " the " little finger of the *Protector* of " their liberties is heavier than " the loins of their lawful So- " vereign"; that if the yoke laid upon them *formerly* was heavy, that under which they *now* groan is heavier; and that " if they " were *before* chaſtiſed with " whips, they are now ſcourged " with ſcorpions." This is the *natural*, I had almoſt ſaid the *neceſſary*, iſſue of every inſurrection againſt the Legiſlature. The inſurgents are not *ſure* to obtain a better government, but they

are

are ſure, by overthrowing that which is eſtabliſhed, to engage their fellow citizens in civil wars, cabals, factions, and univerſal confuſion; and to open a door for the admiſſion of thoſe horrid evils in future, upon pretences the moſt falſe and frivolous.

The love of our country then oppoſeth the *overthrow* of ſubordination, and indeed every thing conſpires to ſhew that it is neither *ſafe* nor *lawful* to "meddle with "them that are given to change."

THIRDLY, If this *general reaſoning* be not ſufficiently clear, the

the matter now under conſideration may be *illuſtrated* by a ſhort ſketch of the *origin* of that rebellion which made England "a "reproach unto our neighbors, "and a ſcorn and deriſion to "thoſe that were round about "us."

When the firſt James ſucceeded to the Engliſh throne, our Conſtitution was very different from what it is at preſent. The government was more arbitrary, the royal prerogative leſs limited, and the liberties of the people leſs accurately defined. The

meetings

meetings of Parliament were ſo precarious, and the *Seſſions* ſo ſhort, that when men's eyes were directed upwards, in ſearch of ſovereign power, the King *alone* was apt to ſtrike them as the *only* permanent magiſtrate inveſted with the whole authority of the ſtate.

Matters had gone on thus ſo long, that (by a great majority of the nation) Monarchy abſolute, ſimple, and unmixed, was conceived to be the Government of England; and Parliaments, conſiſting of the three eſtates of the

the realm, were ſuppoſed to form *only* the *ornament* of the fabric, without being in any degree, *eſſential* to its exiſtence.

For more than a century before the acceſſion of James, all Engliſh Monarchs had uniformly claimed the diſpenſing power, that of exacting forced loans and benevolences,* of altering the

* All theſe methods of raiſing money, (however ſhocking they may ſeem to us who live under a freer conſtitution of Government than our anceſtors) were *not then* diſallowed, unprecedented, nor, conſequently, unconſtitutional: They, had indeed all *at times* been practiſed by ſome one or other of Charles's *predeceſſors*— God forbid they ſhould ever be revived by

cuſtoms, and of creating monopolies. And, be it remembered, that, during the whole period of Engliſh hiſtory, ſtrict obedience had been required to *proclamations* as to *laws*.

James, as was very natural, thought himſelf entitled to exerciſe *all* the powers which his predeceſſors had exerciſed; and, no doubt, eſteemed it his *duty* to

by any of his *Succeſſors!* nor does there ſeem the ſlighteſt ground for ſuch an apprehenſion — *Juſtice*, however, obliges one to confeſs that *not one* of that unfortunate Monarch's *predeceſſors* had ſo good an apology to plead for having recourſe to ſtrong, or even violent, meaſures.

tranſmit

tranſmit thoſe powers to his ſon. Being, however, pacific and, perhaps, timid alſo, he contented himſelf with an oſtentatious diſplay, both in his ſpeeches and writings, of all that, by his prerogative, he *might do*, whilſt in truth he very rarely *did* any thing at all in matters of conſiderable importance. Theſe occaſional ſtretches or exertions of prerogative were commonly made too with ſo little dignity, and, for want of political courage, they were ſo frequently retracted, that they tended rather to *diminiſh* than

than to encreaſe the power of the crown.

The long peace which was preſerved during the reign of James afforded men leiſure, and a general increaſe of knowledge gave them ability, to reaſon upon the nature and deſign of government, and to enquire into the foundation of that prerogative of which the Monarch was continually boaſting.

The more enlightened part of the nation were not long occupied in political diſcuſſions, before they diſcovered that the conſtitutional

ſtitutional aſſembly of the three Eſtates*, of Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, and Commons, muſt have been inſtituted for

* *Thus* is our Parliament conſidered in the eye of the Law: *Thus* Lord Clarendon repreſents it after the Great Rebellion, and *thus* in the reign of King William III. it is repreſented in the Service appointed by the higheſt authority of the ſtate to be uſed on the 5th of November. Why then ſhould we adopt an incorrect idea on this ſubject, as if the King was one of the three Eſtates of the Realm? In *Scotland* indeed, before the Union, *ſuch* was the caſe; but it neither *is*, nor ever *was*, ſo in England. As well, ſurely might a Scotch hiſtorian ſpeak of *Magna Charta*, as if tending to confer freedom on Scotchmen when it did ſo upon Engliſhmen.

ſome

ſome better and higher purpoſe than merely to ſerve as an organ of the royal will. Men became now intent upon aſcertaining the rights of the ſenate, and reſtraining the prerogative of the crown.

The peaceable ſyſtem of James afforded not any opportunity for accompliſhing theſe aims; and he never deviated from pacific meaſures until the concluding year of his reign: *Then* he was, in ſome ſort, conſtrained, by the clamours of his ſubjects, to enter into a war with the moſt powerful kingdom in Europe. To

his

his ſon and ſucceſſor he left the proſecution of that conteſt; under a load of debt, and with an empty treaſury.

Charles inſtantly ſummoned a Parliament, whom he addreſſed with the utmoſt ſimplicity and cordiality. Secure in the affections of the Commons, with whom he had lately become a favourite, he lightly mentioned his need of a ſupply; not doubting but that a competent one would be liberally and chearfully granted for the proſecution of *their own war*.

The

The young King, however, was ſoon convinced of his miſtake; for the Commons (having voted a ſupply, ſo ſcanty*, as to

* A ſubſidy, which was a tax upon *income*, amounted under the *glorious*, but *auſtere*, Elizabeth, to one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds: So it was in the eighth year of her reign. The mildneſs of Charles had ſo far encouraged the knavery of the *aſſeſſors* that a ſubſidy produced in the *firſt* year of his reign only fifty-ſix thouſand pounds; and in the *fifth* only fifty thouſand pounds. A *war-ſupply* of one hundred and twelve thouſand pounds was granted by a Houſe of Commons, who *well knew* the difficulty of military arrangements directed againſt the whole Houſe of Auſtria; againſt the King of Spain, poſſeſſed of greater wealth and more extenſive domi-

evince an intention rather to mock their Sovereign than to ſupport the war) inſtantly preferred a complaint of grievances.

For this conduct they did not, perhaps, deſerve much blame. Their anceſtors had tamely yielded to practices and to precedents favorable to abſolute

nions than any Sovereign in Europe; and againſt the Emperor Ferdinand, the rapidity of whoſe victories had, not only aſtoniſhed but, ſubdued Germany. Now to anſwer *all theſe purpoſes*, theſe *Parliamentary purpoſes*, the Houſe of Commons thought fit to confer on the King, loaded with debt, a ſupply, amounting to one hundred and twelve thouſand pounds.

monarchy:

monarchy: it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to *fix a choice*, either to abandon entirely the privileges of the people, or to guard thoſe privileges with barriers more firm and preciſe than any hitherto provided by the Conſtitution.

With pleaſure they beheld the King engaged in a foreign war, which could not fail to render him every day more dependent upon his Parliament. It certainly was natural, and in their opinion, allowable, to take advantage of Charles's ſituation,

and to extort from him conceſſions favorable to civil liberty.

However natural and juſtifiable theſe ſentiments might be in the Commons, it could not be expected that the King ſhould entertain the ſame ideas.

Educated heir apparent to a crown, the prerogative of which had been long undefined, and almoſt unlimited, he could not fail to conſider this attempt to erect *new ramparts* againſt his *authority*, as a violent and indefenſible innovation in the conſtitution. *He* had exerciſed no authority

thority—(he had not indeed had *time* or *opportunity* to exerciſe any authority) which had not, without complaint or murmur, been exerted by his predeceſſors.*

* It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing in theſe *enlightened* times to hear, what one often does, the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion Courts* brought forward, as if *they* furniſhed matter of juſt accuſation againſt Charles I. No doubt theſe courts were calculated to be inſtruments of *arbitrary tyranny*, but they were NOT INSTITUTED by Charles: And he uſed them in his Government, as they had been uſed by his *predeceſſors*—and be it remembered that the Royal Martyr uſed the Star-Chamber and High-Commiſſion Courts with much leſs ſeverity than the *glorious Elizabeth*. Theſe courts were

Charles well knew that the grievances of which the Commons complained were not the effect of any error in *his* administration—therefore to be thus deserted in the commencement of his reign, and of a war into which popular clamor had driven his father, could not but appear to him cruel and deceitful. When he perceived, as he soon did, that this desertion was a prelude to encroachments upon his

grievances, but they were not grievances that proceeded from the Royal Martyr, who at last consented to abolish them.

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authority, and infringements on his prerogative, he failed not to regard thoſe aims as highly criminal and traiterous.

Nor need we wonder at this; the love of power being, in ſome ſort, natural to the human mind; and few men being diſpoſed *willingly* to ſuffer any, but eſpecially inferiors, to wreſt from them that influence to which they ſuppoſe their right to be indiſputable, however it may be diſputed.

Poſſibly, it might have been well for the King and the kingdom, if attention had been paid

to the complaints of the Commons; but before any man *blame* a King (whom the venerable Archbiſhop Secker ſtyles* "a "willing and a patient martyr to "the conſtitution") for endeavoring to maintain *unimpaired* the prerogative of the Crown, as he received it, let every reviewer of thoſe turbulent ſcenes lay his hand upon his heart, and ſay, as in the preſence of that God from whom no ſecret is hid, "that, "had *he* been in the ſame ele-

* See his Sermon on the 30th of January, 1733.

"vated

" vated ſtation, he would have " acted differently."

In vain hath it been objected that there are rights and privileges *unalienable* from human nature; and that upon *theſe* the Crown had long trampled: for, granting the truth of this, (which, however, is not ſelf-evident) we aſk whether it was reaſonable to expect that a young King ſhould, immediately after his acceſſion, make diſcovery of this truth, which had lain ſo long concealed; or that, becauſe he had *not* diſcovered it, he ſhould, on this

account, be deſerted by thoſe who had hurried his father into an expenſive war?

The Commons, however, deaf to the ſolicitations of their Sovereign, and regardleſs, it ſhould ſeem, of the glory of the nation, remained inflexible. Thus circumſtanced, it was *natural*, and who can ſay it was not *wiſe*, for Charles to diſſolve ſuch an aſſembly? The next which he called, as if the ſame men had every where been returned, and as if no time had intervened between the two parliaments, adopted

ted the ſame principles, and diſplayed the ſame views.

The third parliament at firſt ſeemed to be actuated by a more candid ſpirit, but events ſoon proved that, for violent purpoſes, they had aſſumed the maſk of moderation. Their *petition of right** having been granted,

* This *Petition of Right was granted*, only in conſideration of the *neceſſary* ſupply, which the Commons had promiſed in return for that conceſſion; but, when the conceſſion had been *extorted* from Charles, the Commons ſhewed no diſpoſition to keep their word. They granted indeed the *ſum* which they had voted in the beginning of the ſeſſion; but *that ſum* every one of themſelves knew was

by which as much liberty was

not the *third* part of what was *neceſſary*; and *one penny* more they would not grant but at the *enormous price* of ſtill further curtailing the prerogative. Every impartial perſon will naturally infer that the *contract* between the King and the Commons was broken by the latter. So that by this conduct of the Parliament, a diſpaſſionate and candid reviewer muſt acknowledge that the *petition of right* was *no longer binding*; and that the King was at liberty to raiſe money by all the means which for that purpoſe had been employed by his *predeceſſors*; and it has never been proved, even by the utmoſt virulence of party, that he uſed *any other means*. Thoſe who judge impartially of Charles's character, muſt be forced to confeſs, that a more amiable and reſpectable one hath very rarely appeared in any age or country. But Engliſhmen are apt, however abſurdly,

ſecured to the ſubject, and as abſurdly, to apply "*as a teſt of his ad-* "*miniſtration*" the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION AS IT NOW STANDS; forgetting how widely its laws and principles differ from that over which HE preſided. Let him either as *a man* or as *a King* be tried by the LAWS THEN in force, and by what were *then* underſtood to be the *principles of the Conſtitution*—or Let Charles be tried by the conduct of the *beſt* of his predeceſſors, and his moſt ardently reſpectful admirers need *not* be afraid of the reſult. His *errors* and his *faults* were occaſioned by the *critical time* at which it was his misfortune to live.—His *virtues* were all his own.—*They* ſprang from true religion — it is eaſy on a *retroſpect* to point out the rocks whereon he ſplit; but *perhaps* it was at the time *impoſſible* for human wiſdom either to foreſee or to avoid them. Who can,

even

much reſtraint was impoſed on

even at this day, with the whole ſcene before him, preciſely ſay *what conduct would* or *could* have ſecured to the unfortunate Prince *ſucceſs* and *happineſs?* The great "ſource" (ſays an hiſtorian by no means *partial* to religion) "whence the King "derived conſolation amidſt all his cala-"mities, was undoubtedly religion; a "principle, which, in him, ſeems to have "contained nothing fierce or gloomy, "nothing which enraged him againſt his "adverſaries, or terrified him with the "diſmal proſpect of futurity, while every "thing around him bore a hoſtile aſpect; "while friends, family, relations, whom "he paſſionately loved, were placed at "a diſtance, and unable to ſerve him, "he repoſed himſelf with confidence in "the arms of that Being, who penetrates "and ſuſtains all nature, and whoſe ſe-"verities, if received with PIETY AND

"RESIG-

the Sovereign, as the circumſtances of the times, and the genius of the people, could admit, there remained therefore no longer any one *real* grievance, of which the Commons could complain.

The conſtitution was now reſtored to its primitive purity; and it was the indiſpenſable duty of the repreſentatives of the people to ſupport the Crown in the proſecution of the people's war; in which they had unequivocally promiſed

"RESIGNATION, he regarded as the "SUREST PLEDGES OF UNEXHAUSTED "FAVOUR."

Hume, vol. vii, p. 92. *Dub. Edit.*

promiſed to adhere to the King with their lives and fortunes.

Had ſuch been their conduct, they would have juſtified the higheſt pretenſions to patriotiſm; they would have deſerved the applauſe of their cotemporaries, and the admiration of their poſterity: But, alas! they had other ends in view. Far from being ſatisfied with this important conceſſion on the part of the Crown, theſe perverſe men were only thereby encouraged to make new demands, and ſuch as, had they been granted, would have entirely changed

changed our ancient conſtitution both in church and ſtate.

The King, extremely provoked by a factious ſpirit which he ſaw that nothing could ſatisfy, diſſolved this parliament likewiſe; and ſeeing no proſpect of ſupport from his people (among whom the ſeeds of ſedition had been ſown with a laviſh hand) wiſely made peace with his foreign foes—although he had not been able to obtain the object, for which his father had commenced, and he himſelf had continued,

tinued, the war.* Diſguſted, and ſurely not without reaſon, at popular aſſemblies, a long period was ſuffered to elapſe before the King called another par-

* The ancient Engliſh Conſtitution did *not* provide for annual elections of the lower Houſe of Parliament, as ſome perſons have ſuppoſed. The Statute of the 4th of Edward III. requires "that a Par-"liament ſhall *be holden* or *ſit* annually, "*if need be*" — and *not* "that the *King* "*ſhould call a New Parliament* every "year." The perſons elected were it ſhould ſeem in thoſe days obliged to continue the Repreſentatives of their Electors until the King thought fit to diſſolve them. There was then in the reigns of the two firſt Stuarts, *no law* exiſting which requires the King to *call* frequent Parliaments.

liament,

liament, and it is, perhaps, doubtful whether he would *ever* have done ſo, had he not been compelled by a rebellion excited among his Scotch ſubjects, in behalf of their factious preſbytery and impious covenant.*

* The *holy League* in France, calculated for the extirpation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, was the *original*, out of which the Scotch *Solemn League and Covenant* was (with difference only of *circumſtances*) moſt faithfully tranſcribed. Nor did the *ſucceſs* of both *leagues* differ more than the *intention*. Both ended with the murder of two Kings whom they had both ſworn to defend.—The Scotch Preſbyterian bigotted covenanters "ſwore every "man to run one before another in the "way of Reformation." So did the

Frenc

An army of twenty thouſand fanatics, rendered deſperate and implacable by the curſes which their preachers denounced on ſuch as "went not forth to help "the Lord againſt the mighty," was marching to the borders. At this critical time a Parliament was ſummoned, and one would conclude that *real* patriots could have had no other object in view than the cruſhing ſo unprovoked a rebellion. To cruſh this Scotch inſurrection was, however, far

French Popiſh bigotted ſupporters of the Holy League, "ſwear to fight to the laſt "drop of blood."

from

from their wiſh: regardleſs of the kingdom, and without deigning to take any notice at all of the royal application for neceſſary ſupplies, the Commons entered immediately on their eternal complaint of grievances.*

* This ſame Houſe of Commons afterwards took a ſum of 300,000l. and, it is affirmed, divided it among themſelves, (Clement Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, p. 3-166.) This author was a zealous Parliamentarian—the *Committees*, to whom the different branches of the Revenue were intruſted, *never brought in their accompts.* The Exchequer was aboliſhed, *becauſe* the method of keeping accompts there was leaſt liable to fraud.—The *exciſe*, formerly UNKNOWN to the nation, was by theſe *redreſſers of grievances*

Where great evils lie on all ſides, it is very difficult to follow the beſt counſels. The King was in the greateſt doubt and perplexity, and we cannot wonder that a Parliament, which evidently had the peace of the kingdom ſo little at heart, was haſtily diſſolved. The diſſolution of this aſſembly was, however, a meaſure of which the unfortunate Charles ſoon repented, and which ſubſequent events, more than a thouſand arguments,

vances extended over proviſions and the common neceſſaries of life.

incline

incline every one *now* to condemn.

The Scotch rebels mean-while marched into England, and another Parliament was neceſſarily called. This aſſembly began with diſplaying a diſpoſition more fierce and unrelenting than had been viſible in any preceding one. Far from enabling their Prince to ſubdue the inſurgents, this Houſe of Commons actually voted pay for the *Scotch rebels*; with whom they kept up a conſtant correſpondence, and whom it was their avowed intention to retain

until

until the King himſelf ſhould be totally ſubdued, and all their own republican purpoſes effected. "We cannot *yet* ſpare the Scotch," (ſaid a popular leader in the cant of thoſe times) "the "ſons of Zeruiah are ſtill too "ſtrong for us." Encompaſſed with enemies, the ſad neceſſity of the King's affairs determined him to leave this Parliament *to itſelf*: a year had not elapſed before Charles beheld his moſt faithful ſervant murdered by them, himſelf ſtripped of every branch of the prerogative, and

the

the entire authority of the ſtate, executive as well as legiſlative, aſſumed by the Houſe of Commons. All this *could* not have been effected by the powers of rhetoric or of reaſon. The Houſe and the nation were deeply tinctured with fanaticiſm, and the pulpits, artfully and arbitrarily filled by the Commons with preachers of that deſcription, reſounded with faction and enthuſiaſm.*

* Mr. Vines, the Parliament's Miniſter of St. Clement's church near Temple Bar, uſed the following words :—" O " Lord ! thou haſt never given us a vic-

Hypocriſy, noiſe, and nonſenſe

" tory this long time, for all our frequent
" faſting: What doſt thou mean, O
" Lord! *to fling us into a ditch, and there*
" *to leave us?*" and one Robinſon thus expreſſed himſelf when he made *prayer* before Sermon:—" O God! O God!
" many are the hands that are lift up
" againſt us, but there is *one God*, it is
" thou thyſelf, O Father! who doſt us
" more miſchief than they all." [See Dugdale's ſhort View of the Troubles, p. 570; and Sappen's Preacher's Gaurd and Guide.] Hugh Peters, the Uſurper's Chaplain, was very fond of preaching on this text:—" Let the high praiſes of
" God be in their mouth, and a two-
" edged ſword in their hand; to execute
" vengeance upon the heathen, and pu-
" niſhments upon the people; to bind
" their kings with chains, and their nobles
" with fetters of iron; to execute upon

" them

expelled ſound piety and ſober ſenſe; and the ſole aim of the preachers was to exaſperate the minds of the mob againſt the King and the Biſhops:* Herein their ſucceſs certainly equalled their wiſhes, and probably exceeded their expectations.

" them the judgment written: this ho-
" nour have all his ſaints. Praiſe ye the
" LORD." *Pſalm* cxlix–6, 7, 8, 9.

* Two of the Preſbyterian Preachers told the King " that if he did not con-
" ſent to the utter abolition of Epiſco-
" pacy, he muſt be damned."

A democracy of the worſt and moſt tyrannical ſort had now ſucceeded to our free and ancient government; and as Charles had been compelled to aſſent to an Act for making this Parliament perpetual, a civil war ſeemed to be abſolutely inevitable, before the conſtitution could be *reſtored*. Accordingly vigorous preparations were made by each party for an appeal to the ſword; it matters not at all, which of them drew it *firſt*; the King having been unqueſtionably conſtrained

to

to arm in ſelf-defence: if, indeed, his troops firſt took the field, yet the Parliament had previouſly wreſted from him the militia, they had ſeized his caſtles, and had appointed to them governors by their own authority.

To trace the *progreſs* of that calamitous war is no part of my plan; the *iſſue* of it is but too well known, and reflects indelible diſgrace on this nation; as, under pretence of *amending*, it *overturned* the conſtitution in

church and ſtate, and murdered one of the beſt and moſt accompliſhed princes that ever wore a crown.

Had Charles been born an abſolute Monarch, his humanity and his good ſenſe would have rendered his reign happy, and his memory precious. Had the limitations of prerogative been, in his time, fixed, his integrity would have made him conſider as ſacred the boundaries of the conſtitution. Had the Parliament reſtored to him his *juſt rights*,

rights, after that thoſe rights had been preciſely aſcertained, his high ſenſe of honor, and his fear of GOD, would have prevented his ever ſtretching the regal authority beyond its preſcribed limits.

But the Commons had other ends in view. The utter abolition of royalty was in truth the *original* aim of all, who *now* remained in that factious aſſembly;*

* The church-men of theſe days are indebted to one regulation of that *factious aſſembly* for deliverance from the *burdenſome privilege* of taxing themſelves.

and one of their leaders, ſoon after the murder of their pious, virtuous, and mild Sovereign, confeſſed in the Houſe that "if "they were for a King, the laſt "was as proper as any gentleman "in England."

That regulation (including, in the monthly aſſeſſments on real and perſonal property, the income and poſſeſſions of the church,) *was, at the Reſtoration, adopted by the Legiſlature.* To reward the loyalty of the clergy this favour was granted, and at that time they were placed on the ſame footing with the laity as to *taxation and repreſentation.* Parochial clergy, *as ſuch*, then became *electors* and *eligible.*

No

No ſooner was the monarchy diſſolved than the Houſe of Peers was, very conſiſtently, voted to be uſeleſs; and the Commons erected themſelves into a democracy, under the denomination of "keepers of the liberties of "England."

This new form of government was very ſoon overturned by a fanatical, hypocritical, military deſpot, the arch-traitor Cromwell;* who, ſeizing the *whole*

* In proportion to the enormity of the violences and innovations, were augmented the pretences to holineſs among the regicides. "Should any one have

authority of the ſtate into his "*voluntarily* propoſed," (ſaid Cromwell in the Houſe, Jan. 4, 1649) "to bring "the King to puniſhment, I ſhould have "regarded him as the *greateſt traitor*; "But ſince Providence and *neceſſity* have "caſt us on it-I will nowpray to the Lord "for a bleſſing on your counſels. Even "I myſelf, when I was lately offering "up petitions for his *Majeſty's Reſtora-* "*tion*, felt my tongue cleave to the roof "of my mouth, and conſidered this *ſu-* "*pernatural movement as the Anſwer*, "which Heaven, having rejected the "King, had ſent to my ſupplications." A woman of Hertfordſhire at this time communicated to the *Military Counſel* a private Revelation which aſſured her that *their* meaſures were *conſecrated from above*, and *ratified* by a *heavenly ſanction*. This authority greatly confirmed them to proceed vigorouſly in the work of Reformation.

own hands, retorted upon the Preſbyterian ſect, and the pretended patriots, part of that ſeverity which they had exerciſed towards the adherents of the Church and the King.

Such was the iſſue of an attempt to reform the conſtitution by violent means; even when its reformation was confeſſedly needful. Upon this pretence were the diſturbances begun, and upon this pretence was the Monarch murdered.

" Let not us therefore mur-
" mur, as ſome of them alſo
" murmured, and were deſtroy-
" ed of the deſtroyer ;" but let us rather learn wiſdom from the folly of our anceſtors, and cautiouſly avoid " meddling with " them that are given to change." We enjoy the moſt free and equal government with which any age or nation was ever bleſſed : a government which (now that the boundaries of the conſtitution are fixed) as far ſurpaſſeth in excellence the long famed polities of

Athens

Athens and Rome, as *they* ſurpaſſed the deſpotiſm of Perſia and the Eaſt.

At the head of this government reigns a moſt excellent Prince, equally amiable in public and in private life; a Prince who has uniformly acted like the father of his people; and has preſerved entire that conſtitution both in Church and State, for the preſervation of which his family was called to the Throne.

If, in return for his paternal care of us, we could be ſo ungrateful

grateful as to with-hold from him our cordial affection and chearful obedience, we ſhould deſerve to be abhorred by God and good men, as a people whom neither *paſt miſeries* nor *preſent mercies* can bind to their duty.

But, of diſloyalty there is, I flatter myſelf, little room for apprehenſion: The virtues of the Sovereign have ſecured to him the hearts of his ſubjects. The dread is (at preſent), from another quarter and of another kind. I mean, from attempts,

however

however well meant, to reform the repreſentation of the people in the Houſe of Commons.

That our conſtitution is *abſolutely* perfect, it would be ridiculous to aſſert. Perfection belongs not to lapſed humanity. That a better conſtitution may be *conceived*, we do not poſitively deny. For many theories may be clearly conceived, which by the utmoſt human ingenuity are not reducible to practice.

It may, however, be confidently aſſerted that ſo few and ſo unim-

unimportant are the defects, ſo many and ſo valuable the perfections, of the nicely balanced Britiſh Conſtitution, as to render it highly probable that any innovations in its ſyſtem will be more likely to injure than to improve it.

The people, it is alleged, are *not fairly* and *equally* repreſented*.

* It has ſometimes been haſtily aſſumed as a firſt principle that "it is the "birth-right of every Engliſhmen not to "taxed but by repreſentatives of his own "immediate choice"—whereas in fact, this never was the privilege of Engliſhmen, merely as ſuch, but only of Engliſh-

Granting the truth of this poſi-

gliſhmen under particular deſcriptions. Previouſly to the Stat. 8 Hen. VI. every Freeholder of a County, without regard to the *value* of his freehold, enjoyed the *right of ſuffrage*—but ſo did *not any* perſon at all who had *no freehold*. In conſequence of the extenſion of commerce, and the removal of reſtraints on alienation of lands, the elective franchiſe is, probably enjoyed by *fifty times* as many perſons in England at this day, as it was in the year 1429, when the reſtriction as to the *value* of the freehold was added by *the King and Parliament*, i. e. ſurely, by the *Engliſh Conſtitution*; ſo that all ſubjects of the ſtate, dwelling in the reſpective counties of England, before the 8th of Henry VI. having *no* freeholds, and all others ſubſequent to the reſtraint then impoſed, not having a freehold of

forty

tion, what benefit could they derive from a *more* equal repreſentation, which they have not enjoyed, for almoſt a century, from the *preſent one?* During all *that* time our *rights and liberties* have been carefully preſerved; and, in the name of common ſenſe, what would we have *more?*

forty ſhillings annual value, were conſtitutionally excluded from the privilege of ſuffrage. The Science of Politics and the Hiſtory of England are in the general but *ſuperficially* ſtudied by many who eſteem themſelves correct judges of both.

No plan of repreſentation* could poſſibly be deviſed in which the WHOLE NATION would agree: Why then ſhould we hazard the conſequences of an innovation, which it is *barely poſſible* might do ſome good; but which is much more likely to *create diſcord*, and to proceed to lengths

* When any Bill paſſes the Houſe of Commons in the abſence of more than 400 Members of that aſſembly, is not the greater part of the Electors of Great Britain as totally without *repreſentation* in that tranſaction as the inhabitants of Connecticut?

which

which were never intended? Every rank of men, amongſt us, both in Church and State, may, doubtleſs, learn moſt important leſſons from the miſtakes, as well as from the crimes, of their predeceſſors.

Many popular leaders, in the beginning of the reign of Charles, were *wiſe men* and *true patriots*. Now, if differences between *ſuch Senators* and *ſuch a Sovereign* produced in the end the horrid conſequences which we this day lament, what dreadful confuſion have

have we not juſt cauſe to expect, from differences about the Conſtitution excited, as ſeems at preſent intended, among the *people at large* throughout the whole iſland, who have neither *leiſure* nor *abilities* to comprehend the ſubject? Beſides, although the ſpirit of ſuperſtition be now ſo faſt aſleep that nothing like that which happened in the laſt century can be apprehended in the preſent, yet let us not forget that very lately the Preſident of the Proteſtant Aſſociation aſſembled

twenty

twenty thouſand followers in the cauſe of fanaticiſm.

Should the legiſlature, however, in its wiſdom, ſo far yield to the faſhionable cry for a *parliamentary reformation*, as to make any alteration in the Houſe of Commons, it will, in that caſe, unqueſtionably be *our* duty, and the duty of every Briton, quietly to ſubmit, although the alteration adopted ſhould appear to us moſt undeſirable.

In every ſtate, be the form of government monarchical, ariſto-

cratical

cratical, democratical, or a mixed one conſiſting of a *fuſion* of the three ſimple forms, in every ſtate "*the*" ſupreme "*power is ordai-*"*ned of* God, *whoſoever therefore* "*reſiſteth that power reſiſteth the* "*ordinance of* God, and they that "reſiſt (ſaith an apoſtle) ſhall "receive to themſelves damna-"tion."*

* See Biſhop Berkeley's Eſſay "on "the Meaſure of Obedience to Civil "Government" laſt edition, printed for Robinſon, London; and Elliot and Creech, Edinburgh, 1784.

In

In a word—whether the legiſlature ſhall preſerve the ſtate as it now is, or alter any part of it, let us, as good ſubjects, and as friends to our country, "ſtudy "to be quiet, and mind every "one his own buſineſs"—Let us, by the grace of GOD, reſtrain paſſion, and overcome prejudice in ourſelves. As ſubjects of a free conſtitution, let us be particularly careful to bear in mind the counſel of the wiſe King, "to leave off contention before "it be meddled with." So ſhall

we

we learn to behave ſuitably, according to Saint Peter's rule— "as free, yet not uſing our li- "berty for a cloak of maliciouſ- "neſs, but as the ſervants of "GOD."

This is the moſt effectual courſe we can take to avert the judgment ſtill hanging over us for the horrid crime which we this day deplore. And, if the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect have any knowledge of what is doing on earth, *this* is the courſe which, above all others, will

atone to the ſpirit of the ROYAL MARTYR for the barbarous treatment given him by our fore-fathers.

If we muſt be *reformers*, let us, by contemplating the good parts of other men's characters, and the faulty ones of our own, learn to think juſtly, that is humbly, of ourſelves. Humility will wonderfully diſpoſe us to contentment as to all external circumſtances, be they public or private.

Every

Every Chriſtian is a patriot or lover of his country—every real patriot will then apply himſelf to perſonal reformation, and by ſo doing he will labor to ſecure happineſs to his native land.

Hypocriſy and fanaticiſm were the characteriſtics of the laſt age, as infidelity, and a careleſs neglect of religion and its duties, are the crying ſins of the paſſing century. Let but theſe evils be done away, and we ſhall ſoon happily experience that for *poli-*

tical reformations there will be no occaſion.

By " rendering unto Cæſar " the things that are Cæſar's, " and to God the things that are " God's," and by " doing to all " men whatſoever we would they " ſhould do unto us," by applying (in every *private* and *public* calamity) to the ever-preſent ſource of life, comfort, and bleſſing, we ſhall happily experience that the *compaſſion* as well as the *power*, of our great Redeemer is " the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and

" and for ever." Safe under *His* protection, who alone " maketh " men to be of one mind" in any community, delivered from all corroding anxiety about lives, liberties, and fortunes, we ſhall chearfully paſs the time of our pilgrimage here in hope; and when called to quit this ſcene, wherein every thing is mutable, and which affords *nought good unmixed with ill*, we ſhall be found meet to reliſh the occupations, and to taſte the delights, of that bliſsful Kingdom, which, by our

adorable Redeemer, hath been opened to all believers.

Now to that GOD whom all Chriſtians adore, to the holy, bleſſed, and glorious Trinity, three perſons and one GOD, be aſcribed all honour and glory, now and for ever.

TEMPORIS FILIA VERITAS.

FINIS.